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the playmate relationship is sometimes dependent on a potential social relationship. The playmate relationship may exist between a man and his wife's brother's wife, but only if she belongs to some clan other than his own; for a woman of the same clan is a sister, and the joking relationship with a sister is not permissible.

As regards the use of personal names, the general rule is that no one of the generation immediately senior may be addressed by his personal name. Thus a man may not address by their personal names his father or father's brothers and cousins, his father's wives, his mother and her brothers and cousins, though he may so address his grandparents and their brothers and cousins. A son may, however, call his father by a personal name of his own invention, and a mother by the new name bestowed on her by her husband at marriage.

Parents-in-law are not addressed by their personal names; but this rule appears to be relaxed frequently between a man and his father-in-law, as the taboo between these two relatives appears to be of a less strict character than that subsisting between a man and his mother-in-law and a woman and her parents-in-law. The taboo between a man and his mother-in-law is so strict that he will leave the road when he sees her coming; and not merely does he avoid the use of her personal name, but she avoids his also. It may be of interest to describe here a meeting witnessed between a man aged sixty and the parents of his young wife. He had travelled a long distance to see them. He went down on his knees before his mother-in-law and bent his head, murmuring, "Akwaiya akwangnu—are you well, mother-in-law?" To which she replied: "Ungwanu ka kwa sha sham?" (Is my daughter well?). The mother-in-law also asked after the welfare of her daughter's child, and there the conversation finished. The son-in-law withdrew, and then dispatched a boy to his mother-in-law with a gift of a bag of salt, as modesty would have prevented his handing it to her personally. He then sought out his father-in-law, with whom there was much less restraint. After the formal greetings he handed his father-in-law a gift of several pounds of tobacco and had a lengthy evening's conversation with him. When it came to the time of the evening meal, however, each ate his meal by himself in the company of a young boy of the household.

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on the uncle's death, receive a share of the inheritance. In the ordinary course, however, the sister's son never inherits, though he enjoys numerous privileges during the uncle's lifetime. When he visits his uncle's home he may appropriate any of the latter's property. He has a good deal of say in the disposal of the hand of his uncle's female child, and may receive the bride-price (though he would hand over a proportion to his uncle). In bygone days when he obtained a human head he took it to his maternal uncle, who gave gifts to his nephew and had the head cleaned of flesh. Similarly, the head of every animal killed during a hunt was handed over to the maternal uncle, the head being regarded as a principal part; "for can an animal live without its head?" an appropriate remark for a head-hunting tribe. The maternal uncle could not, among the Katab (as he could among sections of the neighbouring tribe), sell or pawn his sister's son in time of stress. The lad's father or paternal uncle alone could take this extreme measure. The practices described do not in themselves imply any condition of a former mother-right. It is perfectly natural that a boy should regard his mother's home as his own second home, and that when he visits it he should be a welcome and privileged person; for his visits are necessarily infrequent, as he has to make a considerable journey in order to reach his mother's village. That a boy is not allowed to appropriate his paternal uncle's property in the same way as that of his maternal uncle is easily understood, as he lives in daily contact with his paternal uncle. We can also understand that he has fewer privileges in the home of his father's sister, for that home is controlled by the father's sister's husband, who sees no reason why inroads should be made on his property by his wife's nephew. It is interesting to note that females are not privileged to appropriate property from the maternal uncle in the same way as males; but a maternal uncle provides his niece with numerous gifts at marriage.

More suggestive of a former condition of mother-right is the Katab custom that the first two children of a man and a woman who was married as a virgin have to be formally handed over to the wife's family group. The first child is taken, two months after its birth, to the home of the wife's parents, who, after an interval of a month, summon the husband and hold a feast. Prayers are offered for the child's welfare by the wife's father

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836 grown-up men should have sexual relations with legal wives who may be under 13 years of age.

836 Pre-marital cohabitation is not practised to any great extent; for it is taboo between fellow clansmen; and as most of the clans are localized a boy of one clan has little opportunity of 848 sleeping with a girl of another. In the quite exceptional case [847] of a girl conceiving by a youth who was not her betrothed, it was stated that resort might be had to abortifacients. If these were unsuccessful, the girl would be married off as quickly as possible to her fiancé, who would accept the child as his own. The child would suffer no legal disabilities, and in fact would occupy the privileged position of an "eldest son". *Per contra* this custom may explain why it is that, among the Hausa, the eldest son is treated as a stranger.

585 Katab girls are only married between October and March, 591 i.e. during the dry season, and not (as among the Kagoro) during a particular month of the wet season. The bride spends her first year in the hut of her husband's mother, sleeping with her husband at night. At the end of the year she is given her own hut and is provided by the husband's mother with the necessary 853 cooking utensils. After the birth of a child no sexual relations may occur between husband and wife until the child is weaned, 834 the reason for this rule being based on the observation that conception interferes with lactation.

584 It remains to add that members of the same sub-clan frequently assist each other in procuring wives. It is not 613 uncommon for a man to hand over to a friend the bride-price ● 431 obtained for his daughter or niece in order that the friend may have the means to provide himself with a wife. The money may be treated as a loan, but is often given as a free gift.

586 It has been indicated already that no Katab husband can be sure that his wife of to-day will be living with him one year 851 hence. She may be approached by a clansman of her husband (but belonging to another subdivision) and invited to share his life. If she prefers to remain with her husband she will say "No"; but if she wishes a change she will say "Yes", and refer him to her parents, to whom he will have to pay a bride-price. He may approach the parents in the first instance, and they may bring pressure to bear on their daughter. And so off she goes, perhaps enceinte by her first husband. It does not

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matter—she will bear her child in the new husband's home and wean it there. The child belongs, however, to the biological father (i.e. the first husband), and must be returned to him as soon as it is weaned. But how will the new husband regard that child? He is bound by tribal custom to treat it during the weaning period with the same care as he would his own, and if he displays ill-nature his new wife will promptly abandon him. If the child by the former husband dies the dead body is sent back to him as proof that it has really died.

A husband, therefore, takes every care to keep his wife contented, and he has studiously to cultivate her parents also. He visits them constantly with gifts, tobacco for the father and salt for the mother (the mother of his wife may not be living with the father of his wife, and he may therefore have to make separate visits to villages perhaps fifty miles apart). The more attractive his wife is, the more presents he must give. There is little question of adultery among the Katab. For no man would think of having sexual relations with the wife of a member of his own local group. The idea would be so repugnant as to be inconceivable. But a clansman of another subdivision may elope with a wife, and when this happens there is no remedy. The first husband cannot claim a refund of the bride-price; he merely hopes that one day his wife will return to him. If he were to demand the return of the bride-price, he would be repudiating his wife for ever; and in any case no Katab would ask for the return of a bride-price for a woman who had lived with him for a year. And so he proceeds to make good his loss by trying to abduct the wife of some other clansman (who does not belong to his own subdivision).

There is no doubt that the custom of sub-marriages plays a predominant part in the social life of a Katab, who may be said to spend the year endeavouring to retain a wife who suits him, or in working out the means by which he can obtain the wife of someone else. If he saves money it is with a view to contracting a sub-marriage, a barren investment if the woman leaves without even becoming enceinte.

Family Life and Occupations.—The Katab are agriculturists pure and simple; they have practically no industries. They farm rather more extensively than most pagan tribes, the average acreage per adult farmer ranging from four to six. A grown-up

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Kagoro

621 the same group as you give your daughters you might be marrying
582 a relative forbidden by the "clan" rule. Moreover, a mother and daughter might be lodged in the same household or family as the respective wives of two brothers or cousins). Secondly, it prevents hostility (which wife-stealing entails) with a group many of whose members are married to your daughters.

583 A few words may be said about the marriage arrangements. Marriage with girls is of the so-called "purchase" type, coupled with some spasmodic agricultural service rendered to the girl's parents or guardians. The purchase amounts to little, taking the form merely of gifts of a hoe, beer, and meat, a return present of cooked beans being given by the girl's family. Later, gifts of beniseed and two chickens are given, cooked beans being again given in return. When the girl is ready for marriage she receives the elaborate body-marks mentioned in the Katab report. The final gifts are one goat and six chickens, after which the girl is taken to the husband's home, a marriage feast being held. It is noteworthy that girls are only given in marriage about the month of October. Marriage by elopement is arranged by the couple themselves, but the abductor nowadays first secures by gifts the good offices of the woman's parents. Formerly it was customary for a man to abduct the wife of a member of another town and subsequently to obtain by gifts the consent of her parents. There is no marriage by exchange among the Kagoro.
[604] A maternal uncle may help his sister's son to procure a wife,
[431] but among the Kagoro the maternal uncle has no great authority. If a boy is successful in hunting he gives the head to the maternal uncle, who in return presents him with a goat or hoe and an arrow to replace the one expended in bringing down the quarry.
[582 602] A man may marry into his mother's ward, but he must avoid immediate blood relatives of his mother. The relationship system is identical with that of the Katab.

825 582 621 [761] *Animal Emblems.*—In Fadan Kagoro the people of the Lawat ward appear to associate themselves with a certain species of snake. If this snake passes the door of a Lawat's house it is said to be a portent of death. No Lawat may kill this snake, but members of the associated wards of Agwam and Kadau may. The Mingyuo are said to respect the bush cat, and the Mungwop the chameleon. If a Mungwap killed a chameleon the heads of his children would, at birth, be covered with sores. The

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Morwa

same way that the Aku and Shokwa sections of the Katab tribe are blamed by the other sections of the Katab for not conforming to the general practice. It will be seen that the system among the Morwa corresponds more or less to that of the Kagoro. It differs from that of the Katab in that among the Katab the wife-stealing grouping is usually smaller than the clan grouping, whereas among the Morwa the wife-stealing grouping is usually larger than the clan grouping.

The wife-stealing customs of the Morwa do not seem to have been interfered with by the Administration. A form of bride-price is paid by the abductor to the father of the woman with whom he elopes. The Morwa do not want any change made in their custom, such as the formal dissolution of the primary marriage by a refund of the bride-price. A husband who loses his wife by elopement hopes that she will one day return to him. The practice, they say, is suitable for both husbands and wives. It gives each the opportunity of finding the partner who suits him or her best. A Morwa seldom demands the return of his bride-price. He might ask for the return of the bride-price paid for a woman who proved unsatisfactory within a year of marriage, but even in these circumstances the bride-price would be lessened by a sum reckoned as compensation for the housework performed, an interesting sidelight on the Morwa conception of marriage. Children belong to the actual father.

Girls are given in marriage twice a year, when the first rains come and at the ripening of the millet, a fertility custom. A form of capture is practised with the connivance of the girl's parents and relatives. During the capture female relatives make a show of beating off the captors. Both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and sons may inherit their fathers' widows. This latter practice appears, however, to be dying out. Nor do the Morwa any longer inherit the widows of grandparents.

As regards authority in the mother's family the Morwa have similar customs to the Kagoro. Boys are careful to avoid incurring the displeasure of a maternal uncle, whose curse would be regarded with the greatest fear. Husbands are accustomed to giving a formal present of a *kantu* of salt to the wife's parents when she bears a second child. This is analogous to the redemptive fee payable among neighbouring tribes. It is customary among the Morwa, as among their neighbours, for a man to hand over

3: Temple G-4 (no date)1922 FF38 Katab FF38
Kaje

was then allowed to return to his village on giving an expiatory feast to the Elders, but might neither eat nor drink with other men for the rest of his life. 682

In a case of adultery the injured man could demand the death of both the guilty parties, otherwise they were banished for life, being treated as dogs and fed with scraps out of broken vessels until they were drummed out of the place by old women. Oath was taken by jumping forwards and backwards over a sword, an arrow, a skull, and the leaf of the male shea-butter tree. 684 695

Inheritance was to the male heirs in the following order: Sons, brothers, nephews, grand-children—failing these to the Chief. It was, however, common for a man to give his property away in his life-time, when he became a pensioner to the recipient. A brother or son inherited the deceased's widows, but with that exception a man might not marry the widow of any member of his clan. 428 [431]

In appearance the Kaje is slim and of fair physique, he is well built, but his extreme drunkenness has left a mark on the skull formation. 142 273

The men wear a short gown or leather loin-cloth and the youths plait their hair and ornament it with beads. The women shave their heads and wear a leather string round the waist to which is attached a wide cone with a wooden base. That of a Chief's daughter is bound with copper wire and the base is adorned with beads—the poorer women bind it with bamboo. When working on their farms this is discarded and the married women each morning pluck a wisp of vetch, some two feet long, and tuck it under the waist-belt leaving six inches hanging in front, while the long end is pulled back between the thighs so that it sticks out like a tail. Girls wear a small apron of cowrie shells. In Zaria the women wear wooden plugs in their upper and lower lips. 291 302 [554] 291 [301]

They are excellent farmers and breeders of live-stock. They manure the ground with dung from goats and fowls, and ashes. They are keen hunters (possessing a few horses), and are expert highway robbers, but they respect any property left on the road if a leaf of the male shea-butter tree has been placed upon it. 241 231 224 674

Their arms are the bow and arrow. 911

They live in compounds surrounded by high cactus hedges. The house and granary are in one, the former being entered through a low narrow verandah, which leads into a sort of hall, where pots are stored, and which runs along the whole width of the house. Within this is a bigger sleeping apartment, and within again a circular passage sometimes roofed with an attic above, enclosing the corn-bin. Between each room is a double doorway two and a half to three feet in height, in the grooves of which a mat or shield could be placed. The houses are of mud and the roofs [36] 342

423 worked would continue to belong to the farmer and his descendants
593 no matter how long it may have remained unworked. It would not return to the ' pool ' unless all members of the family had died out.

Alienation sale.
425 65. Sale is not customary and would not be acknowledged—not even the restricted form of sale referred to in paragraph 49 above. There is no land hunger and the circumstances for sale do not exist, *i.e.*, a would-be buyer and exchange value for the land.

Loan.
426 66. The loaning of land is customary and is the same in its essential details as that described for the Kagoro with the substitution of the brewing and sharing of a pot of beer for the gift of a chicken. All lands occupied by the Kaje immigrants are loaned. The same rules regarding the building of a house apply—except that a two years' grace period is allowed here instead of the one year with the Kaje.

Pledge.
67. Pledging does not occur. Opinion would not regard it as being in accord with custom if it did.

[431]
[427] 68. Gift, leasing or renting are unknown and would not be acknowledged by custom if they occurred.

Authority in land matters.
691
423 69. The normal procedure, both in the past and now, in the case of a farm dispute is for the claimant to a farm or part of a farm to hang up on a bush on the farm a bunch of " Kujemi " leaves. This ensures that the occupier will forthwith cease any work on the farm. He dare not do otherwise. The occupier would then report the matter to the kindred elders who would investigate the rival claims and give their decision. In past times this decision would be observed by both disputants, the elders if necessary giving the tribal oath or " tsafi " to the occupier of the farm. The challenger would have been obliged to accept the decision of the " tsafi " and remove the " Kujemi " leaves—providing, of course, the occupant had not been stricken dead by taking a false oath. Nowadays though most cases would still be settled by the decision of the kindred elders a disputant, if aggrieved by the decision of the elders, could refuse to have the oath given by them and have the matter settled by the Native Court instead. It is to be noted that in the past the elders of the Dun, Kudak, Chorr and Ngeh kindreds would have no say at all in the Wenyum kindred's land matters and *mutatis mutandis*. They would have the power now since representatives of each kindred sit on the Court. The extent to which each of the four kindreds would, in practice, interfere with the decision of the representatives of the fifth kindred is not known. There is, of course, nowadays,